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## GEORGIA IN THE REIGN OF GIORGI THE BRILLIANT (1314—1346)

By D. M. LANG

THE political career of King Giorgi V of Georgia, commonly known as Giorgi Brdsqinvale or George the Brilliant, spans an eventful period in the history of the Near East. When Giorgi first came to the throne in 1299, the Il-Khan dynasty of Persia under the able Ghāzān Maḥmūd Khān was at the summit of its power. Ghāzān's empire with its vassal states stretched from India to the Mediterranean and Black Seas. He controlled most of Anatolia, including the Seljuk Sultanate of Rūm and the Christian kingdom of Little Armenia. In 1300 he even seized and held Damascus for a short period. From these strategic positions, the Mongols of Persia were a constant menace to both the Mamluks of Egypt and the Khans of the Golden Horde.

But by Giorgi's death in 1346 the Il-Khan realm was virtually in ruins. From Tabriz, Malik Ashraf the Chupanid and his puppet, Anūshirvān Khān, ruled over only Central Iran, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Eastern Georgia. Little more than a decade after Giorgi's death, in 1357, Jānī-Beg, Khan of the Golden Horde, was to seize Tabriz and bring the rule of the decayed Il-Khans to an abrupt end.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the length of Giorgi V's reign and the important events in which he participated, Georgian sources for the period are meagre. One is especially hampered by the fact that the original text of the great Georgian chronicle, known as *K'art'lis tskhovreba* or *The Life of Georgia*, breaks off precisely at Giorgi V's second accession to the throne in or about the year 1314.

The cause of this interruption is twofold. Firstly, from 1346 to 1348, the Black Death raged in Georgia, and carried off many of the priests and scribes whose task it was to keep the Georgian Annals up to date.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, from 1386 onwards the country had to endure the devastating incursions of Tamerlane, who burnt many important monastic libraries, and doubtless killed any potential Georgian chroniclers who might fall into his hands.

In the form we have it to-day the biography of Giorgi V dates only from the beginning of the 18th century. It was composed by the monk Egnatashvili, secretary to the Historical Commission set up by King Wakhtang VI to edit and expand the Georgian Annals. Now in his continuation to these Annals,

<sup>1</sup> V. Minorsky, art. 'Tabriz' in *EI*; Jacob Manandean, *Critical survey of the history of the Armenian People* (in Armenian), III, Erivan, 1952, 333.

<sup>2</sup> The Black Death originated in Central Asia. Nestorian grave-stones dated 1338-9 mark the tombs of plague victims near the Issik Kul lake, in the Semirechinsk district. The Crimean ports were infected by 1346 and the Caucasus about the same time. In the Near East generally, 'so great was the mortality that Arabs, Saracens and Greeks throughout the whole of the East gave themselves up to clamour' (R. Pollitzer, 'Plague Studies, No. 1', in *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, IV, No. 4, Geneva, 1951, 477-8).

Egnatashvili specifically states that he has been unable to find any authentic contemporary life of King Giorgi V.<sup>1</sup> In view of this admission it is scarcely surprising that Egnatashvili's account of this reign is filled out with a certain amount of rhetorical padding.

This does not mean that Egnatashvili's account is devoid of all historical foundation. Writing two and a half centuries nearer to the period under review, Egnatashvili was able to consult original documents and charters now lost to us. Many of his statements, as will be seen, accord with the evidence of other sources, including Arabic and Persian historians more nearly contemporary to Giorgi. Other items in his version stand in need of revision.

The same, naturally enough, applies to the relevant section of the history of Georgia composed later in the 18th century by Prince Wakhusht, who based his account of Giorgi V's reign almost exclusively on Egnatashvili's continuation to the Annals. In Brosset's French translation of these Annals the reigns of Giorgi the Brilliant and of his son David IX are interpolated from the history of Wakhusht, and so likewise derive from Egnatashvili's narrative.<sup>2</sup>

On Giorgi's ancestry and early career the Georgian Annals are precise. He was the youngest son of King Dimitri the Devoted, who was beheaded in 1289 by the Persian Il-Khan Arghūn. Giorgi's elder brother, King David VIII, was deposed by the Il-Khan Ghāzān Maḥmūd in 1299. Giorgi, who had been brought up by the Atabag or Grand-Constable of Meskhia, in south-western Georgia, was made king in David's place. He reigned for only a few months before incurring the displeasure of Ghāzān and being deposed in his turn.

Under Ghāzān's successor, the Il-Khan Ūljāitū Khudābanda (Öljeitü), Giorgi acted as regent for his nephew, the infant son of King David VIII, known as King Giorgi VI, the Little. About 1314 Giorgi the Little disappears from the scene and his uncle Giorgi the Brilliant rules alone.

Giorgi's second reign falls into two distinct phases. The first covers the period up to the year 1327, when Giorgi was reigning at Tiflis as Viceroy and ally of the Il-Khan Abū Sa'īd and his all-powerful minister, the regent Chūpān (Choban). In the second phase, from 1327 until his death in 1346, Giorgi V, as it is proposed to show, lost control of Tiflis and most of Eastern Georgia, but compensated for this loss by reuniting all Western Georgia under his sceptre.

All sources agree on the cordiality prevailing between King Giorgi V and the Amīr Chūpān. The continuation to the Georgian Annals describes how Giorgi paid a visit to the Persian capital to offer homage to the Il-Khan Abū Sa'īd on the latter's accession in 1316. Giorgi was most favourably received. To cement good relations Chūpān restored to Georgian control the province of

<sup>1</sup> Egnatashvili Beri, *Akhali K'art'lis tskhovreba XVIII s. damd.*, ed. I. A. Javakhishvili, tom. I, Tiflis, 1940 ('Monuments historiques géorgiens'), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, tom. I, pt. 1, St. Petersburg, 1849, 644-650, corresponding to Wakhusht, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, ed. D. Bak'radze, Tiflis, 1885, 276-281. The few charters of Giorgi V printed by E. T'qaishvili in *Sak'art'velos sidzveleni*, II, Tiflis, 1913, contain little historical information.

Meskhēt'i, or Samtskhe-Saatabago, in south-western Georgia, which the Il-Khan Abagha had made into an autonomous province dependent directly on the Persian government.<sup>1</sup>

On his return to Tiflis Giorgi profited by the favourable dispositions of the Persian government to crush the separatist tendencies of the Georgian dukes. Summoning the insubordinate Erist'avs or Dukes of Kakhet'i, Heret'i, and Somkhit'i to a meeting on Mount Tsivi, Giorgi there had them executed. He also defeated and expelled a horde of Ossete tribesmen from the Caucasian heights who had invaded K'art'li and seized the town of Gori.<sup>2</sup>

Fundamental for the history of Georgia during the reign of Giorgi V is the information given by the Arabic writer al-Qalqashandī and his sources (14th–15th centuries). The first scholar to draw attention to these was W. von Tiesenhausen, who in 1886 published and translated into Russian the important passage on Georgia in the diplomatic vade-mecum by al-Qalqashandī, known as the *Ṣubḥ al-a'sha*.<sup>3</sup> Al-Qalqashandī, who died in 1418, based this section of his work on Aḥmad bin Yaḥya, called Ibn Faḍl Allāh, al-'Umārī's handbook of diplomacy and protocol, *al-Ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, written in A.H. 741/A.D. 1341, and on the continuation of this treatise composed later in the 14th century by Taqī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Qāḍawī al-Muḥibbī, under the title *Tathqīf al-Ta'rīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*.<sup>4</sup>

As secretary to the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (1293–1341), al-'Umārī was well informed on Persian and Georgian affairs. He died at Damascus in A.H. 749/A.D. 1349, being at the time of his death 47 years old.<sup>5</sup> The kind assistance of Professor A. S. Tritton has made it possible to compare Tiesenhausen's Russian translation of the section on Georgia in al-Qalqashandī with the passages in the Cairo printed editions of both al-Qalqashandī and his source, al-'Umārī. In the English rendering which follows, al-Qalqashandī's text has been divided up in order to show clearly which portions derive from the earlier sources.

<sup>1</sup> Egnatashvili Beri, *Akhali K'art'lis tskhovreba*, 4–5.

<sup>2</sup> N. Berdzenishvili, I. Javakhishvili, and S. Janashia, *Istoriya Gruzii*, vol. 1, 2nd ed., Tiflis, 1950, 289. While Georgian sources place the execution of the Dukes in the second half of Giorgi's reign it seems more likely that it occurred while Giorgi enjoyed the support of Chūpān. The name of the local Mongol governor of Georgia, Armenia, and Diārbakir in 1316 is given as Prince Erenjen (B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Leipzig, 1939, 352).

<sup>3</sup> V. Tizengauzen, 'Zametka El'kal'kashandi o Gruzinakh', in *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya Imp. Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, tom. 1, St. Petersburg, 1886, 208–216.

<sup>4</sup> Also attributed to Ibn Nāṣir al-Jaish. On the various manuscripts of these works see V. Tizengauzen, *Sbornik Materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordy*, tom. 1, St. Petersburg, 1884, 207–8, 331, 395. Of Al-'Umārī's treatise on Protocol, an edition was printed in Cairo in A.H. 1312, pp. 53–5 dealing with Georgia. The passage in al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a'sha* concerning Georgia occurs in vol. VIII of the Cairo printed edition, which appeared in 1334/1915. See further W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> See the excellent biographical notes on this writer by D. S. Rice in *BSOAS*, xiii, 1951, 856–9. In this connexion I also have to thank my colleagues Professors B. Lewis and P. Wittek for a number of helpful references and suggestions.

EXTRACT FROM AL-QALQASHANDĪ ON THE GEORGIANS

(Cairo edition, vol. VIII, 1334/1915, pp. 27-9.)

About the form of address in writing to the Kings of the Unbelievers in the lands of the East.

The total of such lands where there are Kings of the Christians, to whom official letters are written from this realm [i.e. Egypt], are two in number. The first is the kingdom of the Kurj [Georgians], made up of Melkite Christians.<sup>1</sup>

He [i.e. al-'Umarī] said in the *Ta'rif*<sup>2</sup> :—

'The term used for the Muslim inhabitants is Kurd, for the Christian ones, Kurj.'

He [al-'Umarī] said : 'The situation of this land is between the land of Rūm [Asia Minor] and the land of Armenia. It is an extensive land and an important kingdom, and it is as if carved out of those two realms. It has a reigning sovereign and a durable monarchy. Its capital is the town of Tiflis. The Sultan of the house of Hulagu, in the kingdom of Iran, has suzerainty over it. His yarligh has effect there, though the flood [of his might] does not inundate the country, nor does his cavalry penetrate between the dwellings there for flaming war. Only he [the Sultan of the house of Hulagu] maintains there one tūmān (ten thousand) of troops as a protection for its frontier and a support for its authority. The land of the Georgians is wide in its valleys and the inhabitants are nomadic, roaming from abode to abode'.

He [al-'Umarī] said : 'The last man who had renown in this land—and the overthrow of whom was a fearsome event—was Shaykh Maḥmūd, son of Jūbān [the Amīr Chūpān]. He was a bold man, whom no one could resist, and he was a man bitter to the taste [of his foes]. When things went against his father, he took refuge with the Sultan Uzbek Khan [of the Golden Horde]. Then his life-span was not long extended, the rings of fate were not loosed for him. His appointed end came upon him and he could not repel it'.<sup>3</sup>

Then he [al-'Umarī] said : 'The army of the Georgians is the kernel of the religion of the Cross and a people of courage and valour. They are a support and a reserve for the Hulaguid army, who trust in them and rely on them. Especially the family of Jūbān and his sons and the remainder of their descendants, owing to the past kindnesses of Jūbān to them [the Georgians] and the favours he bestowed on them, which were gratefully appreciated. Jūbān was a sincere friend to their king BRṬILMA [or BRṬILMA = Bartholomew<sup>4</sup>], planting with him good acts and consigning trusts to his care. He was his most particular associate and his truest friend. He called upon him on any important occasion

<sup>1</sup> The second eastern Christian kingdom in question was that of Little Armenia, in Cilicia.

<sup>2</sup> For the extracts from al-'Umarī see *al-Ta'rif bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo, A.H. 1312, 53-5.

<sup>3</sup> Maḥmūd commanded the Mongol garrison in Georgia. He was arrested by his own troops and executed soon after the fall of his father Chūpān in 1327. (Tiesenhausen, in *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniya*, I, 211; Ḥāfiz-i-Abrū, *Chronique des Rois Mongols en Iran*, texte persan édité et traduit par K. Bayani, II, Paris, 1936, 107.)

<sup>4</sup> This name, which earlier writers have taken for a corruption of the dynastic name Bagration or of Giorgi's personal epithet Brdsqinvalē, 'The Brilliant', is in fact that of the Grand-Duke Burt'el of Siunia, in Great Armenia. Burt'el (or Biwrt'el, Burdel), son of Prince Elikum Orbelean, bore the title of Generalissimus of the Armenians and the Georgians. He is frequently mentioned between 1300 and 1341 in the colophons of Armenian manuscripts. He died before 1348. (See L. S. Khachikēan, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts of the 14th century*, Erivan, 1950, 684.) It is clear that al-'Umarī is here confusing the king with a prominent vassal.

and asked his help in difficulties, and counted him a support for his army and a remover of any unpleasantness'.

He [al-'Umarī] followed these remarks up in that he said : ' This aforesaid BRT̄LMA I remember as being alive and flourishing in my time, and he was one of the greatest of the Kings of the Christians, and the most noble leader of the sons of baptism. He had written to the Porte of the Sultanate [of the Mamluk Sultans] about the church of the Men of the Cross, that the all-conquering hands might be removed from it. Orders commanding obedience were issued, that it should be returned to them. It had been taken from them and turned into a mosque. It is outside the noble Jerusalem. This was highly offensive to the various scholars and religious men [of Islam], even though it was not done without due consideration. It is said that he [the Georgian king] was trying to persuade Jūbān to enter the land, using every means of persuasion'.<sup>1</sup>

He [al-'Umarī] mentioned that the style of addressing him [the Georgian king] is as follows : ' May God make permanent the felicity of the exalted presence, the presence of the great monarch, the hero, the bold, the lion, the illustrious, the attacker, the dauntless, the enthroned, the crowned, a scholar in his community, just to his subjects, the successor of the Greek kings, Sultan of the Georgians, treasure of the kingdom of the seas and gulfs, protector of the homeland of the knights, the heir of his fathers in thrones and crowns, bulwark of the lands of Rūm and Iran, offspring of the Hellenes, the quintessence of the kings of the Syrians, the successor of the sons of thrones and crowns, the strengthener of Christianity, supporter of the religion of Jesus, the anointed leader of the Christian heroes, who glorifies Jerusalem by sincere purpose, the pillar of the sons of baptism, the helper of the Bāb who is the Pope of Rome, the lover of the Muslims, the best of close companions, and the friend of Kings and Sultans'.

He gives in the *Ta'rif* the following prayer suitable to be offered up for him : ' May he [the King of Georgia] protect his kingdom by his friendship, not by his army, by his fidelity to treaties, not by his troops, nor by stretching out his military standards, by what we judge to be qualities of beneficence, and not by any imaginary qualities he thinks he possesses, by what we deem to be enlightened policy, and not by what kindles fire from flint and steel'.

Note that often it is said : ' The sincere friend of the Muslims ' instead of ' the lover of the Muslims '.

In the *Tathqif* [i.e. the continuation of al-'Umarī's treatise composed by al-Muhibbī], it is said that the Georgians have two kings, one being the lord of Tiflis, who has been mentioned above. It says that his name at that time was David.<sup>2</sup> The second holds sway in Sukhūm and Abkhāz, which are two towns on the southern shore of the sea of the Crimea, as was mentioned earlier in the section on the roads and kingdoms of the north, and the lord of these at that time was Dīyādān.<sup>3</sup>

He said : ' The style of address to each one of the two was on half-size paper, viz. : May God prolong the life of the presence of the great king, the honoured, the important, the bold, the hero, the sanctified, the spiritual, N.N., the honour of the people of the Messiah, the treasure of the sect of the Cross, the boast of

<sup>1</sup> This phrase, as Baron Rosen justly considered, must mean that Giorgi was urging Chūpān to conquer Palestine from the Mamluks.

<sup>2</sup> David IX, son and successor of Giorgi the Brilliant, who reigned from 1346-1360.

<sup>3</sup> The Dadian or Prince-Regnant of Mingrelia, the extensive Georgian province on the Black Sea coast.

the religion of Christianity, King of the Abkhāz, the Georgians and the Jurjānians,<sup>1</sup> the friend of Kings and Sultans.

‘Both of them are known as King of the Georgians.’

Then he [al-Muhibbī] stated : ‘The late Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh [al-‘Umārī] mentions variations in this style, but there is no need to repeat them here, because what I have mentioned has remained the constant usage in the correspondence with him until the most recent time’.

But I [al-Qalqashandī] point out : Because in the time of Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh [al-‘Umārī] it [Georgia] was important because of the alliance with the Tatars and its close connexion with Jūbān, as was indicated above ; therefore the style of address to it was more exalted and grandiloquent. When the Tatars ceased to rule Iran and their violence was abated, the style of address to the King of the Georgians was reduced from this high degree. In the chapter on roads and kingdoms it has been noted that Tiflis was in the clime of Arrān, that the Muslims had conquered it, but then the Georgians overcame it and possessed it. The Lord of it is called the occupier (‘mutamallik’) of Tiflis, just as the Armenian ruler of Sis is called the occupier of Sis, and the ruler of Cyprus, the occupier of Cyprus.

A number of other interesting facts relating to diplomatic exchanges between Georgia and the Mamluk court may be culled from Arab historians of the time.

Thus, several sources mention the embassy from King Wakhtang III of Georgia which arrived in Egypt in 705/1305–6, to request the handing back of the Georgian Church and Monastery of the Holy Cross close to Jerusalem which, as mentioned by al-Qalqashandī, had been turned into a mosque.<sup>2</sup> A piquant reference to these transactions is found in Badr al-Dīn al-Ainī, who records that Uzbek Khan, of the Golden Horde, complained to the Egyptian Sultan in 722/1322–3 of the favour shown to the King of Georgia. Uzbek was indignant that the Georgian king was allowed to build a church at Jerusalem, whereas Uzbek Khan’s favourite, Shaykh Nu‘man, ‘was not permitted to build there a place for the worship of Allāh the all-Highest’.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Maqrīzī and other writers describe the arrival in Egypt during the year 716/1316–7 of ambassadors from the Golden Horde, from the King of Georgia, from the Il-Khan Abū Sa‘īd and his guardian, the Amīr Chūpān, from Spain, Constantinople, and Nubia. Gracious replies were made to their messages and gifts exchanged. In this connexion al-Maqrīzī notes with satisfaction that the

<sup>1</sup> In the printed text ‘al-jibāl’ = ‘hills’ occurs, by mistake for ‘Abkhāz’. With regard to the ‘Jurjānians’, this very likely represents an attempt to convey the Western term ‘Georgians’ in addition to the usual Arabic ‘Kurj’. Another possibility is that it has some connexion with the Caspian Sea, which is occasionally known as the Sea of Gurgān or Jurjān, though more usually as the Sea of the Khazars.

<sup>2</sup> Fuller particulars of these negotiations in Tiesenhausen’s article ‘Zametka el’Kal’kashandi o Gruzinakh’, pp. 212–13, and in D. A. Qip’shidze, ‘Zhitie Prokhora, much. Luki i much. Nikolaya Dvali’, in *Izvestiya Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkheologicheskogo Instituta*, tom. 2, Leningrad, 1927, 31–68. The latter work gives the text of the martyrdom of Nicholas the Dvalian, a Georgian monk from Ossetia, executed at Damascus in 1314.

<sup>3</sup> Tizengauzen, *Sbornik Materialov*, I, 524.

total number of foreign envoys arriving in Egypt in A.H. 716 amounted to eight, constituting a record for one year. We also hear of the reception accorded to another Georgian ambassador in Egypt just before the wedding of the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir to a Tatar princess in A.H. 720/A.D. 1320.<sup>1</sup>

As has been noted, al-ʿUmarī emphasizes the strategic importance of Georgia for the protection of the north-western frontier of the Il-Khanian dominions. This importance was increased during the period under review by the outbreak of hostilities between Abū Saʿīd of Persia and Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde. The *Tārīkh-i-Guzīda*, of Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, as well as the continuation of Rashīd al-Dīn and other Persian sources, describe a raid by the army of the Golden Horde on Arrān and Shīrvān in the year 718/1318–19, when Uzbek advanced as far as the River Kura. In the following year, the Amīr Chūpān advanced into Transcaucasia and put Uzbek's army to flight. In 725/1325 Chūpān wreaked his revenge on the Golden Horde by marching through Georgia to Derbent and thence as far as the River Terek, devastating the territory of Uzbek Khan and returning laden with booty to Persia.<sup>2</sup>

It will also be recalled that al-ʿUmarī says that Chūpān counted on King Giorgi as 'a remover of any unpleasantness'. As an example of this we may cite Giorgi's active role in the suppression of the revolt of the Amīr Qurmishi, who was military governor in Georgia. In 1319 this personage tried to take advantage of Chūpān's many commitments in order to secede from the Il-Khanian empire. King Giorgi, however, refused to countenance this and helped to crush Qurmishi. The situation was soon brought under control.<sup>3</sup>

There can be little doubt that Giorgi the Brilliant's eminent services to Abū Saʿīd and Chūpān helped to bring about the promulgation of the famous decree, the substance of which is carved in stone on the Manūchehr Mosque at Ani, the ancient Armenian capital. (Ani at this period came within the same administrative district as Georgia.) This decree, as shown by Barthold,<sup>4</sup> may be dated between 1319 and 1335. It speaks of the excessive taxes levied in earlier years on 'the city of Ani and other provinces of Georgia'. As a result of violence and abuses the land's prosperity had declined. The decree goes on to specify the forms of taxation from which Ani and the neighbouring districts of Georgia were henceforth to be exempted and gives evidence of the privileged position won by Giorgi V and his subjects during the reign of Abū Saʿīd.

It will have been noted that among the titles accorded to King Giorgi the Brilliant by the Mamluk chancellery there figures that of 'helper of the Bāb who is the Roman Pope'. Although this amounts to little more than a recognition of the Georgians' role in the defence of Christianity in the East, there is

<sup>1</sup> Tizengauzen, *Sbornik Materialov*, I, 170, 437, 440, 520.

<sup>2</sup> Tizengauzen, *Sbornik Materialov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Zolotoy Ordyy*, tom. II (Persian sources), ed. Romaskevich and Volyn, Moscow-Leningrad, 1941, 92, 100–1, 142–3.

<sup>3</sup> W. Barthold, 'Die persische Inschrift an der Mauer der Manūchehr-Moschee zu Ani', trans. and edit. W. Hinz, *ZDMG*, Bd. 101, 1951, 246; Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 121; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, pt. 1, 645, corresponding to Wakhusht, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, p. 276; Manandean, *Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People*, III, 320.

<sup>4</sup> *ZDMG*, Bd. 101, 1951, 246.



evidence to show that Giorgi was, in fact, in touch with the Papacy. In 1321 Pope John XXII wrote from Avignon to Giorgi, urging him to acknowledge the spiritual suzerainty of Rome and bring the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia into the Roman Catholic fold. In his letter the Pope expressed his grief that the Georgian Church had ceased—through its disobedience, as His Holiness put it—to participate in the sanctifying grace of its spiritual head. The Pope took pains to stress that it was not the worldly goods of the Georgian people that he sought, but their souls. He went on to suggest the calling of a General Council to discuss with representatives of the Georgian Church the question of reunion with Rome.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the sagely blended mixture of unction and exhortation contained in this missive it seems not to have had any effect on the king or on the Georgian Orthodox hierarchy.<sup>2</sup> This failure did not deter the Pope from elevating Tiflis in the year 1329 to the status of a Roman Catholic episcopal see, simultaneously appointing the Dominican John of Florence to be the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Tiflis. After occupying the see for 19 years John of Florence died, and was succeeded in 1349 by Bertrand Colleti.<sup>3</sup>

Further evidence of the interest shown by Western Christendom in Georgian affairs may be culled from the references in pilgrim literature of the period to the Georgian monastic community in Jerusalem. Thus, James of Verona, who visited Jerusalem in 1335, had this to say of the Georgian monks at the Holy Sepulchre and of their homeland :—

‘Juxta capellam Nubianorum in platea sepulchri. est alia capella Georgianorum. quia Georgiani sunt induti ad modum Saracenorum preterquam in capite. quia Saraceni portant melmam albam. id est magna quantitate panni albi modo rotundo involutam : Georgiani autem portant melmam nigram et faciunt officium Grecorum. et est Georgia provincia. que est juxta Tartaros. et habent regem et sunt valentes homines et fideles cristiani . . .

‘Primo igitur sciendum est. quod in tota Asyria et Palestina et Egipto et Terra Sancta. sunt multi cristiani sub potentia soldani subjugati. solventes annuale tributum soldano multa et multa milia . . . Quidam dicuntur Georgiani. qui sunt de provincia Georgie. qui est in confinibus Tartarorum. et rex eorum est potentissimus : isti sunt devoti cristiani. tamen non consecrant in azimis. nec elewant corpus Christi. sed servant morem Grecorum . . .’<sup>4</sup>

For the social organization of Georgia during the reign of Giorgi the Brilliant important evidence is provided by the king’s own code of laws.<sup>5</sup> This code was drawn up specifically with a view to introducing law and order into turbulent

<sup>1</sup> M. Tamarati, *L'Eglise Géorgienne des origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Rome, 1910, pp. 438–440.

<sup>2</sup> cf. B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, p. 234.

<sup>3</sup> Tamarati, *L'Eglise Géorgienne*, pp. 440–5.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Peregrinationis di Jacopo da Verona, a cura di Ugo Monneret de Villard* (‘Il Nuovo Ramusio, volume primo’), Rome, 1950, 33, 59. Further references in the article on Georgian monks in Palestine by Archimandrite G. P’eradze, in *Georgica*, Nos. 4–5, London, 1937.

<sup>5</sup> Russian version in Frenkel and Bak’radze, *Sbornik Zakonov Gruzinskogo Tsarya Vakhtanga VI*, Tiflis, 1887 ; English by Sir J. O. Wardrop, ‘Laws of King George V of Georgia, surnamed The Brilliant’, in *JRAS*, 1914 ; Georgian text and French trans. and commentary by J. Karst, in *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, vols. 5–6, Strasbourg, 1938–1940.

districts of highland Georgia, but later acquired general authority throughout the country. It was drafted in consultation with a special Council of State, composed of the Catholicos-Patriarch of Georgia, Euthymius, and other church dignitaries, of the royal Vazirs or Ministers, the provincial Dukes or Erist'avs, the principal Mouravs or urban and rural Prefects, as well as the heads of clans. Allusions in the code to the various classes of society and to grades in the official hierarchy enable us to form a picture of the administrative and social structure of 14th-century Georgia. Of especial interest is the elaborate table of Blood-money or Wergeld payments, calculated on a sliding scale to apply to all classes of society and to all degrees of injury or tort. Other clauses of Giorgi's code regulate the period of military service owed by the vassal to his feudal suzerain, the transmission of fiefs, divorce, and the restriction of usury. An interesting feature of the law on usury is that the lending of money on interest is condemned in principle as evil; the rate of interest, should anyone be so sinful as to charge it, is laid down as 20 per cent, irrespective of the duration of the loan.<sup>1</sup>

To the reign of Giorgi V, or to a period not far removed from it, must be assigned another important document bearing on the structure of the medieval Georgian kingdom, namely the 'Khelmdsip'is karis garigeba', or 'Institution of the Royal Court'.<sup>2</sup> Although only part of the original text has been preserved this source usefully supplements the account of the Georgian medieval court and administrative machinery given by Prince Wakhusht in his geographical description of Georgia.<sup>3</sup>

In the words of the editor of the 'Institution', the late E. T'aqaishvili, 'Undeniably, in many other documents and historical charters there are scattered data on the above-mentioned topics, but such a completely systematic and minutely elucidated picture of state organization as that given by the "Institution of the Royal Court" is not provided by any other document or charter . . . Had this document been preserved in its entirety we should have had a complete survey of the administration and social life of the Georgian state. But that part of it which has come down to us is invaluable and adequately elucidates for us many sides of Georgian state organization of the late 13th and early 14th centuries'.<sup>4</sup>

Among the 'Institution's' most important chapters are those dealing with court etiquette, including such ceremonies as the king's dressing and robing, the serving of the royal dinner, audiences, and the celebration of the New Year and

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Giorgi V, article 46.

<sup>2</sup> First published by E. T'aqaishvili, *Institution des cours royales*, Tiflis, 1920 (*Monumenta Georgica*, tom. iv, no. 1). Much of the material contained in it is incorporated in I. A. Javakhishvili, *K'art'uli samart'lis istoria (History of Georgian Law)*, Tiflis, 1928-9, and in the chapter on 'Court and Administration' in W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People*, London, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> *Description géographique de la Géorgie*, ed. M.-F. Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1842, pp. 19-35.

<sup>4</sup> *Institution des cours royales*, p. xxxiv. Some clauses of the treatise are clearly based on tradition going back to the 11th and 12th centuries.

religious feast days. Many features of the ceremonial recall what Saint-Simon has recorded of that prevailing at Versailles under Louis XIV. The order for the Coronation Service is laid down. The duties and prerogatives of the ministers of state are carefully set out, as well as the protocol for sessions of the Privy Council. An allusion to the fact that the Bishop of Tbet'i was also Duke of Shavshet'i is important as confirming that in Georgia, as in Western Christendom, certain provincial governorates were held by Princes of the Church.<sup>1</sup> A chapter on the responsibilities of the Commander-in-Chief and his staff gives technical details on the equipment and armour supplied to the Georgian military forces.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1327 there occurred in Persia the most dramatic event of the reign of the Il-Khan Abū Sa'id, namely the disgrace and execution of the ambitious and once all-powerful minister Chūpān. As already stated, Chūpān's son Maḥmūd, who commanded the Mongol garrison in Georgia, was arrested by his own troops and executed. Subsequently, Iqbālshāh, son of Qutlughshāh, was appointed to be Mongol governor of Georgia (Gurjistān). In 1334, this post was given to Shaykh Ḥasan Jalā'ir, known as The Big.<sup>3</sup>

Concerning the events of the second half of Giorgi V's reign, after the fall of his friend and protector Chūpān, there is a notable divergence of views between the Georgian Annals, in Egnatashvili's 18th-century continuation, on the one hand, and the evidence of Persian and Arabic writers, and of coins, on the other.

The Georgian chronicler Egnatashvili states, not without a certain panache, that Giorgi V now proceeded to conquer Western Georgia, Mingrelia, Abkhazia, and other Georgian provinces on the Black Sea, and Azerbaijan, Shīrvān, and the Caspian shores as far as Derbent. The Mongol Noyans, says the later Georgian annalist, retired from Georgia, and no more Tatars were to be found in the land. All Georgia and Caucasia from Nicopsia to Derbent were under the sceptre of Giorgi the Brilliant.<sup>4</sup>

Arabic and Persian writers much closer to the period under review strike a discordant note. Al-Qalqashandī, we have seen, says that with the fall of the Amīr Chūpān and the decay of the Il-Khan empire, the international importance of Georgia declined and that therefore the style of formal address used when writing from Egypt to the kings of Georgia was reduced from its former grandeur. It has already been noted that al-'Umarī, writing in 1341, mistook the Grand-Duke Burt'el of Siunia for King Giorgi. This shows that by that time the latter was out of touch with the Mamluk court.

Confirmation of internal decline also, resulting from Giorgi's weakened grip on Eastern Georgia, is found in the Persian chronicle of Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū, the continuator of Rashīd al-Dīn. According to this source, Georgia was invaded

<sup>1</sup> *Institution des cours royales*, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ta'rikh-i Shaikh Uwais (History of Shaikh Uwais)*, trans. and ed. J. B. van Loon, The Hague, 1954, 56–58.

<sup>4</sup> Egnatashvili *Beri, Akhali K'art'lis tskhovreba*, p. 5; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, pt. 1, 646–8, corresponding to Wakhush't, *Sak'art'velos istoria*, pp. 277–280.

and conquered in 1338 by the Chupanid chieftain Shaykh Ḥasan the Little, son of Timūr Tāsh. Ḥasan the Little set up Sulaymān Khān as a puppet ruler to govern the shrunken Il-Khanian dominions in Persia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. The same author relates that in 1342 Shaykh Ḥasan the Little's brother, Malik Ashraf, rebelled against him and retired into Georgia. When Ḥasan the Little was soon afterwards assassinated Malik Ashraf appointed one of his own partisans to be Governor of Eastern Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

An unexpected proof of Giorgi's loss of power after Chūpān's fall is found in the colophons of contemporary Armenian ecclesiastical manuscripts, in which, it is well known, scribes were wont to enumerate the monarchs reigning over or in the vicinity of Armenia at the time of writing. It is remarkable that Giorgi V is mentioned not only as King of the Georgians, but also as King of the Great Armenians, in the colophon of an Armenian Gospel manuscript of 1323, where he figures beside the Il-Khan Abū Sa'īd and King Levon of Little Armenia.<sup>2</sup> In similar colophons dated 1330 and 1331, however, Giorgi features only as King of the Georgians.<sup>3</sup> In 133 known Armenian manuscript colophons dated from 1332 until 1346, the date of Giorgi's death, the Georgian king's name does not feature at all. From this we may conclude that during the time of the Amīr Chūpān, Giorgi was recognized in Armenia as king of both Georgia and Great Armenia, but in the last years of his reign ceased in the eyes of Armenian writers to present any political importance at all.

For the chronology of events in the mid-14th century Armenian historians largely confirm the accounts of contemporary Persian sources. Particularly useful for the history of Transcaucasia during the disintegration of the Il-Khan empire are the chronological tables of Kirakos of R̥shtunik' (15th century) and two anonymous Armenian tables of dates, compiled during the 14th and 16th centuries, and recently published by the Armenian Academy of Sciences.<sup>4</sup> These Armenian sources make no mention of Giorgi V's exploits in conquering all Transcaucasia from the Mongols. The fullest account of Armenian history during this period, that in Manandean's standard survey, makes it clear that Armenia at least remained at this time firmly within the orbit of the warring claimants for the spoils of the Il-Khan domains.<sup>5</sup>

Information bearing on the economic state of Georgia during the 1330's, and on the country's financial relations with Persia, is found in the geographical work of Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī Qazvīnī, composed in 740/1339-1340 and incorporating statistics relating to the year 1336 (35 of the Khānī era). Though some of this author's information is derived from earlier sources, including

<sup>1</sup> Ḥāfiẓ-i-Abrū, *Chronique des Rois Mongols en Iran*, trans. Bayani, II, 107, 131, 136, 148.

<sup>2</sup> L. S. Khachikēan, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts of the 14th century* (in Armenian), Erivan, 1950, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 225, 232.

<sup>4</sup> V. A. Hakopean, *Minor Chronicles of the 13th-18th centuries* (in Armenian), tom. I, Erivan, 1951. See in particular pp. 110, 118, 142, 149.

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Manandean, *Critical Survey of the History of the Armenian People* (in Armenian), III, 312-363, and chronological table, 412-13.

Yāqūt, his experience as Treasurer of the Persian government during the reign of Abū Sa'īd enabled him to add first-hand data not found elsewhere.

On the state budget of Georgia, Ḥamd Allāh asserts that in his time, namely about A.D. 1336, the Il-Khan treasury received from Georgia 120½ tūmāns (equivalent to 1,202,000 currency dinārs or 7,212,000 dirhems). Before the Mongol invasions, however, the revenues of the native kings of Gurjistān and Abkhāz (Georgia and Abkhazet'i) had amounted to nearly 500 tūmāns (five million dinārs or thirty million dirhems).<sup>1</sup> Although Ḥamd Allāh's figure for the earlier period cannot be relied on, it is interesting as reflecting his opinion that the Mongols of Persia about 1336 were receiving from Eastern Georgia a quarter of the total revenue enjoyed by the Kings of United Georgia a century earlier.

To gain an impression of the overall condition of the Persian economy it should further be noted that, according to Ḥamd Allāh, the total revenue of the Il-Khan empire rose under Ghāzān Khān to over 2,100 tūmāns. In 1336, however, it did not amount to half that sum. 'In most of the provinces, usurpation of authority is rampant with this coming and going of armies, so that the people even do withhold their hands from sowing the fields.'<sup>2</sup>

From this it may be concluded that Georgia was still paying tribute to the Il-Khans in the late 1330's, but on a reduced scale. The total paid did not amount to a quarter of Georgia's state revenue in the time of Queen Rusudan, prior to the coming of the Mongols, nor to more than half what the country had been paying to the Il-Khan Ghāzān (1295-1304). This reduction speaks eloquently of the ruinous wars and civil strife which accompanied the break-up of the Mongol empire in Persia.

The facts set out in the preceding paragraphs are clearly inconsistent with the claims of the 18th-century continuation to the Georgian Annals, namely that by the death of Giorgi V, in 1346, Georgia controlled all Transcaucasia from Nicopsia in Abkhazia to Derbent on the Caspian.

One might be in some doubt which version of Giorgi the Brilliant's later career to accept, were it not for the decisive nature of the coin evidence. Two Il-Khanid mints were functioning in Eastern Georgia during the first half of the 14th century, the principal one being at Tiflis, with a subsidiary mint at Qarā Aghāch or Qaraghaji in Kakhet'i, on the borders of Shīrvān.

When in New York in 1953 the present writer was able, with the assistance of Dr. George C. Miles, Chief Curator of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society, to study the Museum's rich collection of oriental coins, as well as the card-index of Persian Il-Khanid mints compiled by Dr. Miles. From these it is possible to establish that standard Il-Khanid dirhems, with the Muslim pious formula and the name of the contemporary Il-Khan of Persia, were struck at

<sup>1</sup> *The Geographical part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb composed by Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn in 740 (1340)*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Leyden and London, 1919 (Gibb Memorial, vol. XXIII, pt. 2), 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, p. 33; Barthold, in *ZDMG*, Bd. 101, 253-4.

Tiflis in an uninterrupted series from the time of Ghāzān Maḥmūd Khān, in 1301, until 1352, six years after the death of Giorgi the Brilliant. To be precise, we have the series of Ūljāitū, extending from the years A.H. 705–715; Abū Saʿīd from 717–735; Arpā Khān in 736; Muḥammad Khān, puppet of Shaykh Ḥasan Jalāʾir, known as The Big, in 738; Princess Sātī-Beg in 739; Sulaymān Khān, puppet of Shaykh Ḥasan the Little, the Chupanid, in 741; Anūshirvān Khān, puppet of Malik Ashraf, from 745 to 752.

The Il-Khanid mint at Qarā Aghāch, in Kakhetʾi, came into being only about the year 1337 and functioned for twenty years. In A.H. 738 we have coins of Muḥammad Khān, in 740–1 of Sulaymān Khān, and from 745 until 756 coins of Anūshirvān.<sup>1</sup>

As that perspicacious numismatist General Bartholomaei remarked nearly a century ago, it now becomes more than ever clear that the Mongol yoke continued to weigh upon Georgia throughout the first half of the 14th century.<sup>2</sup> The coins enumerated are not mere copies or imitations of the standard Il-Khanid types struck in Tabriz, Nakhchevan, Ardabil, Ganja, and the scores of other Il-Khanid mints in Persia and Azerbaijan. The silver dirhems and double dirhems struck in Tiflis are identical, except for the mint-name, in design, standard, and weight with those struck simultaneously in the other Il-Khanid mints.

To anyone who has studied the numismatic history of Georgia and the Near East it is inconceivable that a ruler who controlled by force of arms all Georgia and neighbouring territories from the Black Sea to the Caspian would have continued to strike an uninterrupted series of coins exclusively in the name of the Mongol overlords, whom he is alleged by the Georgian annalist to have expelled from the kingdom. In view of the sensitiveness of the Georgian coinage to all changes of political orientation, one would be justified in expecting to find on the coins of Tiflis some evidence of Georgia's new sovereign status. As it is, the numismatic evidence further shows that Tiflis and the eastern portion of Georgia remained until the second half of the 14th century firmly within the sphere of influence of the Mongols of Persia.

What then, it may be asked, happened to Giorgi V after the fall of his patron, the Amīr Chūpān in 1327, until the king's own death in 1346? The answer is perhaps not so far to seek. When, as is well known, Jalāl al-Dīn, Sultan of Khwarazm, sacked Tiflis in 1225, Queen Rusudan of Georgia retreated and set up her court at K'ut'ais, the capital of Western Georgia. About 1258 Rusudan's son, David Narin, incurred the dislike of the Mongol conqueror

<sup>1</sup> See also J. de Bartholomaei, 'Lettres à Monsieur Soret', Nos. 1–4, in *Revue de la Numismatique Belge*, 1859–1864; C. M. Fraehn, 'De Il-Chanorum seu Chulaguidarum numis', in *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, St. Petersburg, 1834; S. Lane-Poole, *The Coins of the Mongols*, London, 1881; A. K. Markov, *Inventarny Katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imp. Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg, 1896; E. A. Pakhomov, *Monetnye klady Azerbaydzhana i Zakavkaz'ya*, fascs. 1–4, Baku, 1926–1949.

<sup>2</sup> J. de Bartholomaei, *Lettres numismatiques et archéologiques relatives à la Transcaucasie*, St. Petersburg, 1859, pp. 108–9.

Hulagu Khan and did exactly the same thing. Similarly the Georgian sources state that in 1330 King Giorgi arrived in Western Georgia from Tiflis, installed himself in K'ut'ais, and took prisoner the infant King Bagrat of Western Georgia. Giorgi then proceeded to subdue all the feudal princes of Western Georgia and united their territories under his rule.<sup>1</sup> It is surely no coincidence that it was shortly after the fall of Giorgi's protector Chūpān that the king found it wise to embark on these operations outside the Mongol sphere of influence. It may also be significant that the Georgian sources give details and dates for several events occurring between 1330 and 1346 in Western Georgia, but little more than vague generalities for developments in Eastern Georgia.

Trapezuntine sources speak of Georgian intervention in the palace revolutions which occurred in Trebizond in 1341, following the sack of the city by the Turcomans. In July of that year Anna Anachoutlou, daughter of the Emperor Alexios II Comnenus, invaded Trebizond with an army of Lazes and Georgians and deposed the Empress Irene.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence to show whether this Lazo-Georgian intervention was planned by King Giorgi or whether the Georgians participating were merely guerillas or mercenaries.

It is noteworthy that Georgian national coinage, with Christian iconography, was revived at this period in Western, and not in Eastern Georgia. While the Il-Khanid dirhems were still being minted in Tiflis, in Western Georgia local imitations of the silver aspers of the neighbouring empire of Trebizond formed the bulk of the currency. These imitations show on the obverse the crowned figure of the Emperor John II of Trebizond, who reigned from 1280-1297. The reverse shows St. Eugenius, the patron saint of Trebizond. These coins are referred to in old Georgian charters as *Kirmaneuli*. This term derives from the name of the Emperor (Kyr) Manuel I of Trebizond (1238-1263), during whose reign the silver asper of Trebizond gained wide currency in Georgia and in Anatolia. The name of Manuel is preserved in spite of the fact that the Georgian imitations copy the coin type of John II, one of Manuel's successors.<sup>3</sup>

One also finds mention in medieval documents of a Georgian coin known as *Giorgauli*. According to the laws of Bek'a and Aghbugha, the Grand Constables of Meskhia, in south-western Georgia, compiled during the 14th-15th centuries, the Il-Khanid dirhem ('Qazanuri t'et'ri') formerly current there had depreciated in value and been displaced in circulation by silver coins struck by King Giorgi the Brilliant. Of these coins, two specimens were worth five dangi (dāng) of pure silver.<sup>4</sup> Now, the weight of the *Kirmaneuli* fluctuates between 1.7 and 2.2 grammes (as has been found by weighing specimens in various collections), so that the average for the *Kirmaneuli* is about 1.9 grammes each. Thus the

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, pt. 1, 647-8, corresponding to Wakhusht, 277-8.

<sup>2</sup> W. Miller, *Trebizond: The last Greek Empire*, London, 1926, pp. 49-52.

<sup>3</sup> O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt* (*Numismaticheskyy Sbornik*, I, Moscow, 1910); W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Vandals . . . and Trebizond in the British Museum*, London, 1911; D. Kapanadze, 'Tak nazyvaemye "gruzinskie podrazhaniya trapezundskim aspram"', in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, tom. III, Moscow, 1950.

<sup>4</sup> *Code d'Aghbugha*, ed. J. Karst, Strasbourg, 1938, 16.

weight of two such coins ( $\pm 3.8$  grammes) approximates closely to 5 dangi, or  $\frac{5}{6}$  mithqāl. So the weight laid down by Bek'a and Aghbugha as the average weight of a *Giorgauli* is exactly that of a *Kirmaneuli*. This fact inclines one to believe that the *Giorgauli* coins minted under the authority of Giorgi V are, in fact, the same imitations of silver aspers of Trebizond, which are more widely known in Georgia as *Kirmaneuli*.

When one looks at the coins themselves one finds another quite independent argument for identifying the *Kirmaneuli* with the *Giorgauli* of Giorgi the Brilliant. This argument consists in the fact that the effigy of St. Eugenius, on the coins' reverse, bears a resemblance to the effigies of St. George, patron saint of Georgia, found on many Georgian medieval icons. In fact, some of these *Kirmaneuli* coins have garbled and somewhat barbarous legends in which it is possible, with a little imagination, to discern the Georgian letters 'G.I.', the accepted abbreviation for 'GIORGI'. It seems highly feasible that the Georgians, to whom St. Eugenius was and is a quite unknown figure, turned the Trapezuntine saint into their own favourite St. George and accordingly termed these coins both *Kirmaneuli*, after the Emperor Manuel, and *Giorgauli*, after the saint they imagined they saw on the coins' reverse.

To bring to a close this account of Georgia under the last Il-Khans, a word should be added about the son and successor of Giorgi V, King David IX (1346–1360). All that is known of this ruler from Georgian sources is that the Black Death raged in Georgia from 1346–1348, and that on one occasion the Mongols ravaged the town of Bijlisi or Bjni.<sup>1</sup> From Trapezuntine authorities it is further known that the Georgian mountaineers of Tchanet'i or Lazistan took part in a raid on Trebizond in 1348. A prominent part in Trapezuntine politics was taken by the Lazian princely family of Tzanichites, members of which held the offices of Great Constable and Imperial Cup Bearer.<sup>2</sup>

During most of David's reign the shrunken Il-Khanid domains continued to be ruled by Malik Ashraf, the Chupanid, and his puppet Anūshirvān. Evidence for the economic state of Georgia at this time and for the country's financial relations with Persia in the mid-14th century is given by the *Risāla-i Falakiyya* of 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Kiyā, al-Māzandarānī. This document, drawn up in 1363 during the rule of Shaykh Uwais Jalā'ir, was recently edited by Walther Hinz.<sup>3</sup> Al-Māzandarānī claims to give the Persian budget figures for the year 750/1349–1350. Hinz, however, does not accept this date as authentic. He argues that al-Māzandarānī's calculations include figures for income from such provinces as Gilān, Shīrvān, Georgia, and Asia Minor which, Hinz says, were not in 1350 paying taxes to Shaykh Ḥasan Jalā'ir, predecessor of Uwais. Hinz therefore prefers to assign these budget figures to the reign of Abū Sa'īd.

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I, pt. 1, 649–650, corresponding to Wakhushht, pp. 280–1; *Istoriya Gruzii*, ed. Janashia, I, 2nd ed., Tiflis, 1950, 292; I. A. Javakhishvili, *Kart'veli eris istoria*, tom. III, Tiflis, 1941, 178–9.

<sup>2</sup> W. Miller, *Trebizond*, pp. 53–4, 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ein persischer Leitfaden des staatlichen Rechnungswesens um 1363*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden, 1952, and extracts translated in the same author's 'Das Rechnungswesen orientalischer Reichsfinanzämter im Mittelalter', in *Der Islam*, 1949, Bd. 29, Hft. 2, 131–4.



In so doing, Hinz fails to take into account the fact that in 1350 the regions enumerated in al-Māzandarānī's budget statement were united, albeit precariously, under the rule of Malik Ashraf and his puppet Anūshirvān.<sup>1</sup> It is quite obvious that al-Māzandarānī was simply quoting from Malik Ashraf's account books, which had doubtless been taken over by the Jalā'irs when they finally occupied Tabriz in 1358. So there is no reason whatever to reject the date of 750/1349–1350 given by al-Māzandarānī for the fiscal year with which he was dealing.

The total figure given by al-Māzandarānī for the Il-Khan state revenue of the year 750/1349–1350 is 28,264,220 $\frac{3}{8}$  dinārs, as against 21 million for the reign of Ghāzān Khān. The dinār in question is the silver dinār, equivalent to six dirhems, as coined by Ghāzān Khān and Abū Sa'id.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to note that the value of the Persian and Georgian silver coinage had declined sharply during the second quarter of the 14th century. The deteriorating economic and political situation gave rise to inflation. The following tables give the weights of silver dirhems struck by the Il-Khans at Tiflis and Qarā Aghāch, in Georgia, as weighed by the present writer at the A.N.S. Museum in New York :—

				gr.
A.D.	1301	.	.	2·14
	1305	.	.	2·15
	1312	.	.	2·08
	1319	.	.	1·70
	1334	.	.	1·38
	1345	.	.	1·41
	1349	.	.	1·26
	1352	.	.	1·01

One also has to remember that the silver content of the coinage of Ghāzān Khān, especially after the reform of the coinage alluded to by Rashīd al-Dīn,<sup>3</sup> was extremely high. That of the coins of the decayed Il-Khans, especially after 1340, was low. The specimens of the last years of Malik Ashraf are of a debased alloy. Between 1305 and 1350 it may confidently be asserted that the silver coinage lost over 40 per cent of its value through admixture of base metal.

When we combine this factor with the loss of weight of the dirhem, from 2·15 to about 1·25 grammes (a loss of weight of some 42 per cent), we are forced to the conclusion that the dirhem of 1350 was worth only about 30 per cent of the value of the dirhem of Ghāzān.

Thus the real value of the total revenue of the Il-Khan domains in the fiscal

<sup>1</sup> cf. V. Minorsky, art. 'Tabriz' in *EI*.

<sup>2</sup> Barthold, in *ZDMG*, Bd. 101, 1951, 253; Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 27. The equation of 6 dirhems = 1 silver currency dinār enables us to interpret Clause 11 of the Code of Giorgi the Brilliant (ed. Karst, p. 169), where the blood-money of a certain class of nobleman is fixed at 200 drahkani (i.e. dinārs), equivalent to 1,200 t'et'ri (literally, white coins or aspers, i.e. silver dirhems).

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Jahn (Gibb Memorial), p. 285; Russian trans. by A. K. Arends, *Sbornik Letopisey*, III, Moscow, 1946, 270–3.

year 750/1349–1350, in terms of the silver currency of Ghāzān's time, must be taken as about 30 per cent of the gross figure of 28,264,220 $\frac{5}{8}$  dinārs quoted by al-Māzandarānī, that is, 8,479,266 $\frac{1}{4}$  dinārs of full weight and standard. As the total revenue in Ghāzān's time was 21,000,000 dinārs, this means that the real income of the Persian state had sunk by nearly 60 per cent in half a century.

The contribution from Georgia to the Il-Khan treasury for the year 750/1349–1350, as given by al-Māzandarānī, was 400,000 dinārs.<sup>1</sup> This compares with 1,202,000 dinārs in Ḥamd Allāh Mustaufī's time, some thirteen years earlier. When the depreciation of the currency which had taken place during this interval is taken into account we must conclude that the net value of the tribute received by the Il-Khans from Georgia sank between 1336 and 1350 by about three-quarters.

In 1357 the tyranny of Malik Ashraf the Chupanid was brought to an abrupt end by the invasion of Jānī-Beg of the Golden Horde. That the Mongols of the Golden Horde occupied at least part of Georgia on this occasion is now known for the first time by the discovery of coins of A.H. 758 minted at Qarā Aghāch in the name of both Jānī-Beg and his successor, Birdī-Beg.

It is also of interest to know that the Jalā'irid dynasty, who replaced Ashraf after the temporary occupation of Transcaucasia by the Golden Horde, also controlled Eastern Georgia, including Tiflis, for a short time. Coins bearing the name of Shaykh Ḥasan Jalā'ir, known as The Big, were struck in Tiflis and Qarā Aghāch in A.H. 757 and 758/1356–7.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that no more coins of these series were struck at Tiflis after 1357 suggests that soon after this time the Georgians finally took advantage of the destruction of the regime of Malik Ashraf in order to drive the Mongols from Eastern Georgia.

Of interest for the cultural history of the reign of King David IX is the remarkable quadrilingual inscription of the year 1352 on the wall of the monastery of St. David of Garesja, in Kakhet'i (Eastern Georgia). This inscription, in Georgian, Armenian, Persian, and Mongol in the Uigur script, records that a Christian named Sargis, son of Arslān, accompanied by his wife and his son Amīr Sa'id, visited the tomb of St. David to pray for their family and for deliverance from sin. The date of the visit is given according to the Georgian, Armenian, and Muḥammadan eras, and coincides with the saint's feast day, which fell that year on 22nd May, 1352. In addition to its epigraphic interest the inscription shows how common Turco-Persian personal names had become among Christian families in Transcaucasia during the Il-Khan period.<sup>3</sup>

It may be useful to append the following chronological summary of the reigns of Giorgi V and his son David IX :—

<sup>1</sup> Hinz, in *Der Islam*, 1949, p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Pakhomov, *Klady Azerbaydzhana*, fasc. 2, Baku, 1938, Nos. 472–3.

<sup>3</sup> L. M. Melikset-Bekov, 'Garesdzhyskaya tetralingva epokhi Mongolov 1352 g.', in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, fasc. VIII, Moscow-Leningrad, 1953 (with a photograph of the inscription).

- 1299-c. 1301    Giorgi V's first reign.
- 1310-14        Giorgi V rules as regent for infant king Giorgi the Little.
- 1314            Beginning of Giorgi V's second reign.
- 1316            Giorgi visits Persian court and sends an embassy to the Mamluk Sultan.
- 1318            Uzbek Khan of the Golden Horde advances to River Kura.
- 1319            Amīr Chūpān repels Uzbek and crushes rebellion of Mongol commander in Georgia with the aid of King Giorgi.
- 1320            Giorgi sends another embassy to Mamluk Sultan.
- 1321            Pope urges Giorgi to unite Georgian Orthodox Church with Rome.
- 1323            Giorgi mentioned in Armenian Gospel manuscript as 'King of the Georgians and Great Armenians'.
- 1325            Amīr Chūpān advances through Georgia to invade land of the Golden Horde.
- 1327            Fall of Amīr Chūpān.
- 1329            Roman Catholic bishopric of Tiflis founded.
- 1330            Giorgi invades Western Georgia and seizes K'ut'aīs.
- 1334            Death of Sargis, Atabag of Samtskhe, who is succeeded by his son Qvarqvare.
- 1335            Death of Il-Khan Abū Sa'id.
- 1338            Eastern Georgia invaded by Shaykh Ḥasan the Little.
- 1341            Georgian and Lazic troops intervene in Trebizond.
- 1342            Malik Ashraf the Chupanid, brother of Ḥasan the Little, occupies Eastern Georgia.
- 1345            Death of Mamia Dadian of Mingrelia, succeeded by his son Giorgi.
- 1346            Death of King Giorgi the Brilliant, succeeded by his son David IX.
- 1346-8         Black Death rages in Georgia.
- 1348            Lazic mountaineers attack Trebizond.
- 1357            Jānī-Beg of the Golden Horde invades Azerbaijan and Eastern Georgia and executes Malik Ashraf. Coins of Golden Horde struck at Qarā Aghāch. Jalā'irs seize Transcaucasia and strike coins in Tiflis.
- 1358 (?)        Georgians reoccupy Tiflis.
- 1360            Death of King David IX.